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CHURCHMAN, JURIST, ARTIST: WINAND ORT VON STEEG AND HIS LEARNED COLLEAGUES (AROUND 1426)¹

In memory of František Šmahel (1934–2025)

Abstract: The article introduces a distinguished, yet typical scholarly personality of the fifteenth century: Winand von Steeg, an imaginative jurist, pulpit orator, theologian and Hebraist and, last but not least, a versatile artist. After studying in Italy and Heidelberg and spending time in Rome, which brought him useful contacts and benefices, he became professor of canon law in Würzburg. At the same time, Winand took on advisory functions, which brought him further contacts and prevented a career setback after the closure of his university. As a legal adviser of Nuremberg, he took part in the Council of Constance, which provided a platform for scholars to offer their expertise and engage in networking. Winand was recommended to King Sigismund of Luxembourg, who appointed him his *secretarius* in Hungary, though he disliked court service. He endeavoured to find a place to continue his studies and found one as a priest in Bacharach. Winand became particularly well known through the *Libellum*: a composite manuscript of expert opinions on the duty-free transport of parish wine on the Rhine. This booklet was addressed to his sovereign, the elector palatine in Heidelberg, as a warning against tampering with church property in the period when anticlerical Hussite heresy was flourishing in Bohemia. The elector was thereby subjected to a collective demonstration by contemporary lawyers and theologians. Winand had added pictures of the experts to the seventy texts and had tried to achieve a por-

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trait-like quality. So the viewer was shown the professional power of interpretation and also the functioning of a network of supporting colleagues.

Keywords: academic prosopography, scholars, councillors, networking, knowledge

The jurist Winand von Steeg was a particularly versatile and distinctive, albeit very typical, representative of his profession. His portrait shows



him looking friendly, and a little thoughtful, in the process of writing an expert report. The situation should have been familiar to him because he had painted it himself (Fig. 1).

Apart from all else, he is interesting to us as a man with a university education, and a doctor of the canon law. This makes him an ideal test case for our digital research project *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum* (RAG), which aims at investigating the university-trained scholars of the Holy Roman Empire from the perspective of prosopography, exploring their lives, their knowledge, their social impact and the specific culture that developed around them, from its beginnings to the middle of the sixteenth century.²

Fig. 1: Winand von Steeg, Self-portrait (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 15^v, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 8

² See URL: www.rag-online.org: Winand von Steeg (Ort) [accessed 27 August 2025]. For recent information on the RAG, continued under the umbrella of the Repertorium Academicum (REPAC) see URL: www.repac.ch [accessed 27 August 2025], and K. Gubler, C. Hesse, 'Das Repertorium Academicum Germanicum. Neue Perspektiven im europäischen Verbund', in *Die römischen Repertorien. Neue Perspektiven für die Erforschung von Kirche und Kurie des Spätmittelalters (1378–1484)*, ed. by C. Märkl, I. Fees et al., Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 145, Berlin – Boston 2023, 121–34; R. C. Schwinges, 'Das Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG) – Ursprung und Entwicklungen', in *Person und Wissen. Bilanz und Perspektiven*, ed. by K. Gubler, C. Hesse et al., RAG Forschungen, 4, Zurich 2022, 1–17.

Winand Ort von Steeg has received scholarly attention as of the 1950s to 1970s, primarily through research undertaken by Aloys Schmidt and Hermann Heimpel, as well as Enno Bünz in the 1990s.³ His own contemporaries describe Winand as an exceptionally gifted scholar and teacher of rhetoric, highly experienced in religious and secular learning, as for instance the well-known humanist Johannes Trithemius made clear by including him in his fifteenth century *Catalogus illustrium virorum*.⁴ In fact, Winand was highly educated and had a wide range of interests: he preached and spoke exceedingly well, wrote professional and technical prose as well as poetry, sketched and painted on parchment and paper just as well as on the walls of houses and churches. The powerful and lively Leviathan on the right, for example, stems from a manuscript he illuminated (Fig. 2).

Winand usually called himself after the village of Steeg near the town of Bacharach on the Rhine, a fertile wine-growing region to this day, where



Fig. 2: Winand von Steeg, The Leviathan, from *Adamas colluctantium aquilarum* (1419). Source: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 412, after A. Schmidt, 'Winand von Steeg, ein unbekannter mittelrheinischer Künstler', p. 370

- ³ A. Schmidt, H. Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg (1371–1453), ein mittelrheinischer Gelehrter und Künstler und die Bilderhandschrift über Zollfreiheit des Bacharacher Pfarrweins auf dem Rhein aus dem Jahr 1426: Handschrift 12 des Bayerischen Geheimen Hausarchivs zu München*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge, 81, Munich 1977. For older works of A. Schmidt see Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg (1371–1453)*, 8–9. See further: E. Bünz, 'Winand von Steeg (1371–1453)', in *Rheinische Lebensbilder*, ed. by F.-J. Heyen, Cologne 1995, XV, 43–64; E. Bünz, *Stift Haug in Würzburg*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 128, Göttingen 1998, 635–39; E. Bünz, 'Winand von Steeg', in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, ed. by B. Wachinger et al., Berlin – New York 1999, X, 1181–89.
- ⁴ Johannes Trithemius, *Catalogus illustrium virorum*, Frankfurt 1601, 156, quoted in Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 9. See also A. Schmidt, 'Winand von Steeg, ein unbekannter mittelrheinischer Künstler', in *Festschrift für Alois Thomas. Archäologische, kirchen- und kunsthistorische Beiträge*, Trier 1967, 363.

he was born 1 May 1371. His family, named Ort, was probably part of the wealthy bourgeoisie. Whether he, whom a contemporary called ‘maister Wynanden der Stalberger’, had more to do with the Palatine castle of Stahlberg above the village of Steeg than mere geographical proximity is as yet uncertain.⁵ His family coat of arms (see Figures 1, 5, 6) shows a staircase rising to the heraldic left and a head of an animal with its tongue stuck out (hunting dog?) also looking to the left.⁶

Winand probably attended the local parish school in Bacharach. However, as was customary in wealthy and educated families of the time, Winand was sent away early on an educational journey, initially to the Netherlands, where, according to his own statements, he travelled extensively in the large cities of Brabant and Holland as well as in the county of Luxembourg. Here, he may have studied at one of the most prestigious schools of his time, the School of the Brothers of the Common Life in Deventer.⁷ At the time, such a school was absolutely equal in terms of standards, if not superior, to a faculty of arts.⁸ Winand must have realized around this time that his future lay in the scholarly world, ideally in close association with the Roman papal church. Consequently, the next place we find him – now in his early twenties – is in

⁵ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 20. However, an origin from the lower noble family of the lords of Stege has also been considered, see F. L. Wagner, ‘Steeg’, in *Handbuch der Historischen Stätten Deutschlands*, V: Rheinland-Pfalz und Saarland, ed. by L. Petry, Stuttgart 1988, 364.

⁶ For the coat of arms see Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 9–10, No. 8 and 57. For Winand’s curriculum see above footnote 3 and A. Frenken, ‘Winand Ort von Steeg’, in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, ed. by T. Bautz, Herzberg 1993, VI, 1287–89; G. Franz, ‘Winand von Steeg (Winand Ort von Steeg)’, in *Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens*, Leiden 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/9789004337862__COM_230449> [accessed 18 July 2025]; T. Haye, *Verlorenes Mittelalter: Ursachen und Muster der Nichtüberlieferung mittellateinischer Literatur*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 49, Leiden 2016, 166–68; R. C. Schwinges, ‘“Doctores so in den püchern lesen”. Lebenswege deutscher Gelehrter des 15. bis 16. Jahrhunderts und das Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG)’, in *Gelehrte Lebenswelten im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. by K. Gubler, R. C. Schwinges, RAG Forschungen 2, Zurich 2018, 5–7.

⁷ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 10, and Bünz, ‘Winand’ (Verfasserlexikon), 1181, question this; however, the unusually advanced age should be taken into account, as Winand was already 23 years old when he began his studies in Heidelberberg.

⁸ See R. C. Schwinges, ‘Admission’, in *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. by W. Rüegg, I: *Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. by H. de Ridder-Symoens, Cambridge 1992, 174–75.

the centre of Rome in the years 1391–1392. Whether by following good advice or by chance and luck, he managed to join Oddone Colonna, the apostolic protonotary of the Roman Curia, and thus the second most powerful man after the Pope in terms of distributing benefices. Of course, Winand was in Rome for benefices: he still intended to study law. Unlike today, in 1400 one generally had to find a lucrative position in order to pursue higher studies, irrespective of personal or family resources. It was not until around 1500 that this sequence got reversed into the familiar modern sequence of study first and work second.⁹ Colonna, himself a learned lawyer from Pavia and Perugia, examined Winand for his aptitude and was evidently delighted with the young man's ability to transform any given topic into a Latin poem. Decades later, Winand was still proud of his first written piece, which he had penned *pindarico stilo* and called *lapis precisus*.¹⁰

Winand's stay in Rome was doubly successful: on the one hand, he met Colonna, who, importantly for him, was to become pope, and on the other hand, he received benefices in the neighbouring Rhineland: the parish of Weisel near Kaub, several vicariates and altars and other entitlements to one or other canonries. The best thing about this was that he enjoyed the income from the benefices but did not have to fulfil the associated offices and duties at that time. He also did not have to be ordained a priest, as Rome had exempt him from the residency requirement for the duration of his studies. Benefices, today often unjustly seen in a negative light, were one of the most ingenious cultural achievements and inventions of the European Middle Ages. A benefice meant a fixed income in money and in kind which was linked to an ecclesiastical position, but hardly ever to actual ecclesiastical tasks. This meant that there was a sense of dispensability (*Abkömmlichkeit*), decisive and appropriate for an elevated way of living.¹¹ From the very

⁹ Cf. R. C. Schwinges, 'Karrieremuster. Zur sozialen Rolle der Gelehrten im Alten Reich des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Gelehrte im Reich. Zur Sozial- und Wirkungsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by R. C. Schwinges, *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 18, Berlin 1996, 20–21.

¹⁰ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 10–11. The *Lapis de monte precisus* is one of the lost works, cf. Haye, *Verlorenes Mittelalter*, 617–18, 620.

¹¹ See P. Moraw, 'Stiftspründen als Elemente des Bildungswesens im spätmittelalterlichen Reich', in *Studien zum weltlichen Kollegiatstift in Deutschland*, ed. by I. Crusius, *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte*, 114, Göttingen 1995, 270–97.

beginning of the emergence of European universities in the thirteenth century, the benefice was used in the academic milieu and brought a freedom and a relief from daily concerns without which university studies would not have been possible at that time.

Winand benefited from this and, quite well equipped, he enrolled at the nearby University of Heidelberg as *Winandus Ort de Stega* from the diocese of Trier in the summer of 1394.¹² He reports himself having previously attended the universities of Piacenza and Perugia in Italy, but there is no evidence that he studied there.¹³ In Heidelberg, he received a bachelor's degree from the Faculty of Arts in 1396 and then, without aiming for a master's degree in arts, he switched straight to the Faculty of Law, where he graduated as a Bachelor of Law (*baccalarius iuris*) in January 1401.¹⁴ Winand was a typical 'course-hopper', as students of the law faculties considered themselves equal to the masters of the arts faculties anyway, especially in Heidelberg.¹⁵ Between his degrees, Winand travelled to Rome again in 1397/98 to boost his career as a beneficed student, which he succeeded in doing. He returned to the university with a canonry at the church in Sankt Goar on the Rhine and, among further benefices, the very lucrative pilgrimage altar of the Holy Innocents in Rupertsberg Abbey (the Monastery of Hildegard von Bingen). His teacher and mentor there was the canon and law professor Nikolaus Burgmann von Sankt Goar (Fig. 3).

¹² *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386 bis 1662*, ed. by G. Toepke, Heidelberg 1884 (reprint 1976), I, 57: *Winandus Ort de Stega Treverensis diocesis*.

¹³ Cf. A. Schmidt, 'Nikolaus von Kues, Sekretär des Kardinals Giordano Orsini?', in *Aus Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Gerhard Kallen zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*, ed. by J. Engel, H. M. Klinkenberg, Bonn 1957, 141.

¹⁴ *Matrikel Heidelberg*, I, 57 (b. art. Juli 1396); *Matrikel Heidelberg*, II, 501: *Winandus Ort de Stega, pastor in Wysyl Treverensis dioc., ao. 1401 feria tertia post epiphaniam domini* [Tuesday, 11 January 1401] *promotus est ad gradum baccalariatus (iur.), facultati satisfecit*.

¹⁵ For the student typology, see R. C. Schwinges, 'Student Education, Student Life', in *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. by W. Rüegg, I: *Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. by H. de Ridder-Symoens, Cambridge 1992, 196–200. On Heidelberg artists/lawyers see R. C. Schwinges, 'Universität, soziale Netzwerke und Gelehrtentendynastien im deutschen Spätmittelalter', in *Zur Kulturgeschichte der Gelehrten im späten Mittelalter*, ed. by F. Rexroth, Vorträge und Forschungen, 73, Ostfildern 2010, 50–52.

Whether by coincidence or not, Burgmann was one of the most important politicians and court councillors of the palatine counts and prince electors of the Rhine, including Ruprecht III, who became the Roman-German king in 1400.¹⁶ Winand remained in Heidelberg until 1403 and was mainly concerned with the Fourth book of Decretals, the law of marriage. In his lectures as a Bachelor of Laws he dealt with questions of consanguinity and marriage, also in relation to inheritance law, using his own systematic approach. This was obviously much in demand among the dynasties and the great noble and bourgeois houses. Even King Ruprecht took notice of him. Years later, Winand further elaborated on his text, based originally on the *Lectura* on the *Arbor consanguinitatis et affinitatis* by Johannes Andreae of Bologna, one of the great legal and canonical authorities of the time, and he dedicated it to his sovereign Ludwig, Ruprecht's son, under the title *Mons quatuor fluvialium arborum* in 1417.¹⁷



Fig. 3: Winand von Steeg, Portrait of Dr decret. Nikolaus Burgmann of St Goar (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 6^r. Reprinted with permission

¹⁶ For Burgmann see P. Moraw, 'Beamtentum und Rat König Ruprechts', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 116 (1968), 114–15; Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 120–121; D. Willoweit, 'Das juristische Studium in Heidelberg und die Lizentiaten der Juristenfakultät von 1386 bis 1436', in *Semper apertus. Sechshundert Jahre Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg 1386–1986*, ed. by W. Doerr, Berlin – Heidelberg 1985, I, 101–02; D. Drüll, *Heidelberger Gelehrtenlexikon 1386–1651*, Berlin – Heidelberg 2002, 413–14; RAG (Nikolaus Burgmann).

¹⁷ See a picture under <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_411> [accessed 18 July 2025]. On text and genre see Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 31–32; S. Teuscher, 'Flesh and Blood in the Treatises on the *Arbor consanguinitatis* (Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)', in *Blood and Kinship. Matter for*

It is clear from these few stations that Winand obviously had a knack for making connections, even networking, which will become even clearer below. One of his older fellow students in Heidelberg was Johann von Egloffstein,¹⁸ from a Franconian knightly family, who became prince-bishop of Würzburg in 1400 and set his ambitions on founding a university in his state in order to recruit suitable personnel for the clergy and administration.¹⁹ The university was opened in 1403, and the bishop seems to have personally appointed Winand to his university. By March 1404, he was awarded a doctorate in canon law there, took up a professorship in canon law and read variously on the *Liber sextus* (four times) and the *Clementines* as well as on the *Decretum Gratiani*. His lecture on the *Liber sextus* is extant today, as is his academic speech from 1407 (one of the first of this genre at German universities) to introduce the new rector to his office, an office he himself had probably held until 1406.²⁰

Winand quickly became a respected man and sought-after expert also beyond his scholarly life: vicar general of the diocese of Würzburg, assessor in the ecclesiastical court, legal adviser to various monasteries and collegiate churches, councillor and envoy, as well as a gifted pulpit orator.²¹ It was a special and unique honour that he was allowed to preach the funeral sermon for King Ruprecht in Würzburg Cathedral on 9 June 1410.²² Further benefices, canonries and parishes secured his livelihood, including a canonry at St John's Church in Haug outside Würzburg as of 1405, where he is documented until 1441 and where he

Metaphor from Ancient Rome to the Present, ed. C. H. Johnson, B. Jussen et al., New York – Oxford 2013, 83–104.

¹⁸ A. Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Würzburg*, II: *Die Bischofsreihe von 1254 bis 1455*, Germania Sacra, Neue Folge, 4.2, Berlin 1969, 127–42; RAG (Johannes von Egloffstein).

¹⁹ With strong reference to Winand see A. Schmidt, 'Zur Geschichte der älteren Universität Würzburg', *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter*, 11/12 (1949/50), 85–102.

²⁰ Schmidt, 'Ältere Universität Würzburg', 92–94; Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 32–33. In detail see O. Meyer, 'Die Universität von Würzburg von 1402 und ihr Professor Winand von Steeg', in *Varia Franconiae Historica: Aufsätze, Studien, Vorträge zur Geschichte Frankens*, ed. by D. Weber, G. Zimmermann, Mainfränkische Studien, 24.3, Würzburg 1986, III, 1115–27.

²¹ For the extant collection of sermons *Lapis angularis* see Schmidt, 'Ältere Universität Würzburg', 93–94; Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 33–34.

²² Schmidt, 'Leichenpredigt auf König Ruprecht von der Pfalz, gehalten im Dome zu Würzburg am 9. Juni 1410 von Winand von Steeg', *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter*, 14/15 (1952/53), 337–42. On the uniqueness of such a sermon for a king of the Germans see also Bünz, *Stift Haug*, 636 (No. 238).

is also mentioned as its scholaster from 1420 to 1423.²³ Only the university itself did not prosper due to a lack of sufficient resources. When its patron, Bishop Johann, died in 1411 without having previously equipped and embedded his foundation in the social and economic environment of Würzburg, both the residential city and the prince-bishopric, and when, on top of this, a violent famulus murdered Johann Zantfurt, the rector in office in 1413, the university could no longer be maintained. Most of the academic teachers had by then already left Würzburg, including, in 1411, Winand von Steeg.

One might expect a career setback at this point, but the typical multi-track nature of medieval professors prevented a crash. Winand's extra-academic activities as well as his judicial and advisory functions as a lawyer, had provided him with valuable contacts, and these now came into play: he became a legal councillor to the imperial city of Nuremberg and had thus arrived, as it were, in the secret capital of the Empire, where all the threads of the political players converged. Thanks to merchant networks from all over Europe, Nuremberg was almost always the first to know what was happening or about to happen in the Empire. Winand must have been a skilled and successful negotiator, as 'meister winandus, unser jurist' ('master Winandus, our lawyer') was repeatedly called in for consultations and deployed on Nuremberg's foreign missions to princes and other imperial cities.²⁴ The Council of Constance (1414–1418), where the European world met and where the king, at this stage Sigismund of Luxembourg, repeatedly stayed, was of course one of the most important destinations during these years. Winand was a member of the Nuremberg delegation, less concerned with ecclesiastical matters than with peace, coinage reforms, and military affairs.²⁵

Constance also became a stage for Winand. He was there three times between 1415 and 1418. On the one hand, he was able to socialise with a multitude of scholarly colleagues coming together from all over Europe as representatives of their universities or as councillors of their princes, churches, and cities. The Church Council of Constance was the first to be both a council of churchmen and of scholars and

²³ Bünz, *Stift Haug*, 635–37.

²⁴ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 15.

²⁵ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 16.

experts.²⁶ In addition, Winand here reunited with high lords in whose favour he had been for a long time: His Heidelberg Prince Elector Ludwig, who led the trial against Jan Hus, and his former Roman mentor Oddone Colonna, who was elected as Pope Martin V in Constance on 11 November 1417, and whose glamorous appearances he witnessed and enthusiastically described.²⁷

Most pivotal for his career at this moment, however, was the prince-bishop of Passau, Georg von Hohenlohe, formerly a Prague jurist, who had been advising and representing King Sigismund in Constance since 1415, had served as a royal chancellor since September 1417 and as an administrator of the archbishopric of Esztergom (Gran) in Hungary since 1418.²⁸ Winand had already been favoured by Georg since 1412, when he had apparently made an impressive appearance as a pulpit orator in the Passau Cathedral before the bishop, clergy, and people.²⁹ Georg von Hohenlohe now recommended that the king accept Winand into the royal *familia*. As of the winter of 1418/19, Winand described himself as *curialis* and *domesticus familiaris*³⁰ and accompanied the king and the bishop on their journey to Hungary (Fig. 4).

From Passau via Linz, Vienna, Bratislava, Skalica and Székesfehérvár they reached Gran (Esztergom) and finally Buda, where Winand preached the Good Friday sermon in the king's presence on 24 April 1419. The very same day, Sigismund appointed him his secretary.³¹

²⁶ See A. Frenken, 'Gelehrte auf dem Konzil. Fallstudien zur Bedeutung und Wirksamkeit der Universitätsangehörigen auf dem Konstanzer Konzil', in *Die Konzilien von Pisa (1409), Konstanz (1414–1418) und Basel (1431–1449): Institution und Personen*, ed. by H. Müller, J. Helmuth, Vorträge und Forschungen, 67, Ostfildern 2007, 107–47; H. Müller, 'Universitäten und Gelehrte auf den Konzilien von Pisa (1409), Konstanz (1414–1418) und Basel (1431–1449)', in *Universität, Religion und Kirchen*, ed. by R. C. Schwinges, Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 11, Basel 2011, 109–44.

²⁷ Winand's account of the Council of Constance is given in the introduction to his work *Adamus collectantium aquilarum*, excerpted in *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, ed. by H. Finke et al., Münster 1928, IV, 753; cf. Bünz, 'Winand' (Verfasserlexikon), 1185.

²⁸ See G. Schwedler, 'Georg von Hohenlohe (gest. 1423). Bischof von Passau, Reichskanzler und Diplomat', *Passauer Jahrbuch: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur Ostbairerns*, 56 (2014), 29–55; RAG (Georg von Hohenlohe).

²⁹ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 17.

³⁰ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 18.

³¹ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 18.

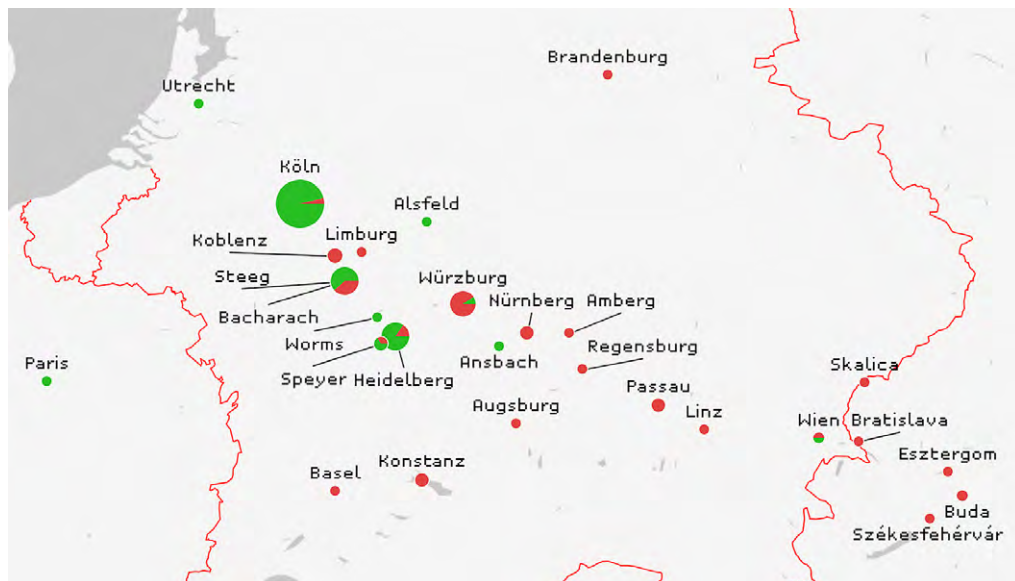


Fig. 4: Winand von Steeg, Life stages (red) and Networking for *libellum* (green).
Source: Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG). Reprinted with permission

If the honours Winand garnered were great, the hardships were greater. The scholar did not like life at the royal court, and even less at this medieval itinerant court. The churches and castles in Hungary were still beautiful to look at from the outside, but not so much from the inside, as he grumbled in his descriptions.³² The bishop's castle of Gran, for example, had only three heated parlours for the entire royal entourage in the middle of winter, and one of these was shamelessly occupied by the royal court jester Antonio Tallenderi, known as the Lord of Borra, and his silly company, while the high lords, counts and knights, the doctors and notaries had to share the other two rooms for sleeping and eating. Having lived in the Rhineland, Winand was used to spacious and beautiful half-timbered houses, light breezes and fresh wines, and he consequently disliked the constant gusting wind in Hungary, the uncomfortable and unclean beds, the coarseness of food and drink and, above all, the wine, the fiery Malvasia. Winand soon had enough and he did not take part in the campaign to Bulgaria and Silesia, took leave from the king and his chancellor and travelled back to Nuremberg, where he arrived already in May 1419. There, he

³² Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 18.

resumed his work as a councillor as ‘meister wynanden, als der unser juristen wider worden ist’ (‘master Winandus, who has returned as our jurist’). Winand remained in the service of Nuremberg until 1422, and provided whatever service ‘gelehrte lüte in den Rechten’ (‘learned lawyers’) were needed to provide.³³

In contrast to these agreeable and lucrative advisory tasks, Winand’s foray into major imperial politics had failed miserably. This is evident in his occasional autobiographical sketches.³⁴ Scholarship and court, science and politics were a poor match, as many scholars experienced time and time again since the early days of the universities. It was not so much the external strains, but the internal ones that tainted the combination. Winand, for instance, missed his scholarly parlour. Despite all his activities, he had never stopped writing since the demise of Würzburg University. Wherever he went, lugging his box of books with him, he sought a place of retreat. However, the authorial scholar met with little understanding at court. Again and again, he complained, he literally had to fight for the space to pursue intellectual work, at times, in Passau, Vienna, Buda, forced to resort to rudeness to be able to find even a quiet corner, if not a scholarly parlour.

Winand’s works from these years have only recently come to light and received titles; most of them are still dormant in the archives and there are but a few editions.³⁵ He kept returning to them over the space of many years. His most extensive work is the *Lapis angularis* (‘The Cornerstone’, i.e., Christ), begun in 1414 and completed in 1443, a collection of his own sermons which he wrote down as models for the clergy.³⁶ His

³³ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 19–20.

³⁴ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 18.

³⁵ For lists and descriptions of the surviving prose works and poems, see Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 31–44, also Bünz, ‘Winand’ (Verfasserlexikon), 1183–87; on the lost writings see Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 38–40; Bünz, ‘Winand’ (Verfasserlexikon), 1187–88; Haye, *Verlorene Werke*, 615–23. For some new discoveries (until 2013) see K. Graf, ‘Vaticana-Handschriften Winands von Steeg online’ (published 24 March 2013), in *Archivalia* <<https://doi.org/10.58079/bkbw>> [accessed 17 August 2024]. For the poetry in particular, see W. Schouwink, ‘Die Offiziendichtungen Winands von Steeg in Vat. Pal. lat. 411, 412, 858 und Trier, Stadtbibliothek 1139/65’, in *Palatina-Studien*, ed. by W. Berschin, *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, 5; *Studi e Testi*, 365, Vatican City 1997, 264–86.

³⁶ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 33–34; Bünz, ‘Winand’ (Verfasserlexikon), 1183–84.

systematising and rubricating approach is intriguing – it is typical for a jurist – his entries sorted according to Sundays and holidays, feasts of saints and other subject blocks and – astonishing for the time – the two *tabulae*, an alphabetical and a document index, to facilitate the finding of specific topics. In addition to many poems and songs, a total of 18 major works are known to date, of which I will mention only two because they cover Winand's spectrum: First, the allegorical treatise *Adamas colluctantium aquilarum* ('Adamant of the Fighting Eagles'), a post-conciliar reform treatise on the struggle of the Church of Christ against the one of the devil, who is as hard as a diamond, an *Adamas*. At the time, this was understood to mean both the battle of the Ecclesia against the Synagogue and the battle, or crusade, against the Hussites. In addition to his numerous notes on the course of the Council and his service at the royal court, the many illustrations in the manuscript which Winand himself wrote and painted on his journey through Hungary with King Sigismund, and which he completed in the castle of Gran on 26 March 1419 under the adverse conditions described above, are particularly attractive. The manuscript is dedicated to Count Palatine and Elector Ludwig³⁷ (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5: Winand von Steeg dedicates his work *Adamas colluctantium aquilarum* (1419) to Prince Elector Ludwig III of the Palatinate. Source: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 412, fol. 2r, according to Heidelberg University Library <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_412/0009/image,info>

³⁷ Besides Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 34–36, see also Schmidt, 'Winand von Steeg, ein unbekannter mittelhainischer K nstler', 369–70 with illustrations, Nos. 66–73. Cf. esp. for the *Adamas*: B. Obrist, 'Das illustrierte *Adamas colluctantium aquilarum* (1418–1419) von Winand von Steeg als Zeitdokument', *Zeitschrift f r Schweizerische Arch ologie und Kunstgeschichte*, 40 (1983), 136–43; A. Graf,

Second, there is the *Prologus in Hebreorum veteris testamenti libros*, an introduction to the Hebrew Bible and a commentary on the five books of Moses, begun in the turbulent years of the Council of Constance but not completed before the 1430s. It is noteworthy that Winand was one of the very early Hebraists in the German academic world, who followed directly after Heinrich von Langenstein, professor of theology in Vienna, whom he liked to reference. However first, Winand pursued Hebrew language studies with zeal and great care. His instructor was Rabbi Johannes *baptizatus ebreus*.³⁸

In the meantime, Winand also visited Bacharach, not long after his Hungarian adventure in August 1419, drawn there by the vacancy at his home church of St Peter, which was up for reappointment. Everything points to this being his goal in life, to finally find a pleasant and lucrative environment to pursue his studies, which also included the expertise mentioned above. His connections worked very well this time too. When he succeeded, the Nuremberg town council congratulated him and sent him a gratuity in the hope of continued good co-operation.³⁹

Despite the social standing of the Ort family, it took Winand some careful planning to become the parish priest of Bacharach, one of the richest parishes on the Middle Rhine, whose income was primarily based on the yield from numerous vineyards. As a large parish, it employed up to 30 clergy, vicars, and chantry priests for the associated 17 places of worship, branch churches, chapels and chantry altars.⁴⁰ The initial planning lay with Oddone Colonna, now Pope Martin V, who not only confirmed Winand's previous benefices, but also gave him access

'Winand von Steeg: Adamas collectancium aquilarum. Ein Aufruf zum Kreuzzug gegen die Hussiten', *Umění. Časopis ústavu dějin umění Československé Akademie Věd*, 40 (1992), 344–51; A. Graf, 'Hildegard von Bingen bei Winand von Steeg, Adamas collectancium aquilarum (Vat. Pal. Lat. 412). Ecclesia und Synagoge', in *Palatina-Studien*, ed. by W. Berschin, *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, 5; Studi e Testi, 365, Vatican City 1997, 61–84; E. Marosi, 'Winand von Steeg, Adamas collectantium aquilarum', in *Sigismundus rex et imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1387–1437*, ed. by I. Takács, Mainz 2006, 463–64 with three coloured illustrations (No. 5.35); D. Buran, 'König Sigismund als Advocatus Ecclesiae: ein Bildkommentar', in *Bonum ut pulchrum: Essays in Art History in Honour of Ernő Marosi on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by L. Varga, Budapest 2010, 251–58.

³⁸ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 36–38. RAG (Heinrich von Langenstein).

³⁹ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 22.

⁴⁰ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 22.

to St Andrew's Collegiate Church at Cologne, where Winand's name is attested as of October 1420⁴¹ (Fig. 6).

To our knowledge, Winand had not previously been to Cologne, but he was renowned there for his scholarly work. St Andrew's was one of the Cologne collegiate churches that provided several university benefices for Cologne professors.⁴² More importantly, however, St Andrew's had always held the patronage of St Peter's in Bacharach, and only canons of St Andrew's could be appointed parish priests in Bacharach. However, the church prelates could not do entirely as they pleased. On the second planning level, Prince Elector Ludwig in Heidelberg, who had long been Winand's patron, had a say in the appointment of the parish priest, too. It seems once again to all have worked together in Winand's favour and he was inducted officially as the new pastor on 16 July 1421.⁴³

Over the next few decades, Winand developed an extraordinary activity between the Heidelberg court, his parish in Bacharach, and St Andrew's in Cologne. Notwithstanding his other benefices, the Rhine axis was now the centre of his life, where he had received a canonry (1431) and the deanery (1439) of St Castor's in Koblenz as a kind of stopover.⁴⁴



Fig. 6: Winand von Steeg, The chapter of St Andrew's Church in Cologne and Winand himself as canon (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 2^r, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 1

⁴¹ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 21.

⁴² Cf. E. Meuthen, *Kölner Universitätsgeschichte 1: Die alte Universität, Cologne – Vienna* 1988, 62–64.

⁴³ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 21.

⁴⁴ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 28–29.



Fig. 7: The wise virgins. Wall painting by Winand von Steeg in the church of St Maurice's in Oberdiebach near Bacharach. Photo: Gisela Schwinges, Zollikofen CH. Reprinted with permission

He devoted himself to scholarly writing, illuminated his manuscripts and decorated the walls of his churches with his paintings which can still be seen in the church of his birthplace Steeg (St Anne's) and in neighbouring Oberdiebach (St Maurice's)⁴⁵ (Fig. 7).

In particular, however, he took care of the expansion and furnishing of his parsonage, a rather extensive household, with parlours for the auxiliary clergy, a hostel for pilgrims and, last but not least, a quiet study in a residential tower of the complex (known today as 'Posthof'), which he also painted himself⁴⁶ (Fig. 8).

Just how circumspect Winand had gone about this became clear in August 1426 when he welcomed a very important visitor: For three weeks, he hosted the papal legate Cardinal Giordano Orsini and his large entourage in the parsonage. Winand and

the cardinal knew each other either from their time in Rome or from the Council of Constance, and possibly both, and held each other in high mutual regard as collectors and lovers of books.⁴⁷ However, this

⁴⁵ See Schmidt, 'Die Wandmalereien in den Kirchen zu Steeg und Oberdiebach', *Jahrbuch zur Geschichte von Stadt und Landkreis Kaiserslautern*, 12/13 (1974/75), 305–27.

⁴⁶ Schmidt, 'Winand von Steeg, ein unbekannter mittelhheinischer Künstler', 372.

⁴⁷ Schmidt, 'Nikolaus von Kues', 139–42.



Fig. 8: Pilgrim and landlady. Wall painting by Winand von Steeg in the tower of the former vicarage (later 'Posthof') of St Peter's in Bacharach. Photo: Corina Liebi, Bern CH. Reprinted with permission

was more than a mere visit among friends: Winand had managed to persuade Orsini to make a detour to Bacharach while on his visitation tour through Germany. His two requests marginally concerned high politics. The cardinal legate was travelling in *causa fidei*, on the one hand on the Hussite issue, in order to organise the defence against the Bohemian heresy against which King Sigismund had already led crusades, though with varying degrees of success. On the other hand, on the 'Jewish issue' which once again became acute during the smouldering conflicts against the Hussites, because the Jews were likewise fundamentally distrusted due to their alleged *perfidia* in matters of faith. Although Winand eagerly continued his Hebraic studies and found support, among others, from a Magister Martinus (*olim judeus*) and an (unnamed) Cologne theology professor,⁴⁸ this did not stop him – any more than the cardinal and many of his scholarly contemporaries – from

⁴⁸ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 37–38.

accusing the Jews of anti-Christian activities. In particular, he took at face value accusations of ritual murder of Christian boys at Passover.

This was Winand's first request to the cardinal. The alleged murder of the boy Werner had taken place near Bacharach in 1287 and a cult had subsequently developed, which Winand meant to revive and promote in agreement with his sovereign and in this way generate extra income from pilgrimages to Werner's grave. The German author Heinrich Heine would take up the Werner story in 1824 in his fragmentary text 'The Rabbi of Bacharach'. Winand intended the cardinal's visit to set Werner's canonisation in motion. Orsini did order the canonisation process and had indulgences proclaimed in order to promote the construction of the Werner chapel near the parish church and to encourage pilgrimages that would benefit the country as well as the parish. Winand, as a man of learning, had already gathered all the information concerning the life and murder of the boy, the alleged miracles at the tomb, his veneration among the people, and the construction of the Werner Chapel. Using the eminent scholarly methods of his time, he compiled the *Vita Weneri*: Winand heard numerous witnesses and had their statements authenticated by notaries. One of the copies of his work was intended for the Roman Curia, but there, the matter seems to have been forgotten and came to nothing. However, Winand had achieved his goal since, despite the gloomy background, the ruins of the late Gothic Werner Chapel in Bacharach (begun thirteenth century), which Winand completed and extended, still stand today.⁴⁹

Winand's second request to the cardinal concerned the expert report mentioned at the beginning of this article, in the writing of which Winand portrayed himself. Winand presented his distinguished guest with something seemingly commonplace, almost trivial, and asked him for a decision in a matter one would not expect a cardinal legate and grand penitentiary of the Roman Church to deal with at all. It was about a legal opinion on the duty-free transport of wine on the river Rhine, which eventually was certified on 7 August 1426.⁵⁰ One of Winand's duties as a canon of St Andrew's in Cologne was to supply the church with wine from his Bacharach patronage area. Of course, this was usually done by ship on the Rhine. However, the elector had set

⁴⁹ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 27–28; Schmidt, 'Zur Baugeschichte der Wernerkapelle in Bacharach', *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter*, 19 (1954), 69–89.

⁵⁰ Cf. the annotated edition of Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg* (1977).

up a customs office in Bacharach and his customs officers demanded duties on the goods and the transport from Winand's ships, wine duties in this case.⁵¹ However, neither St Peter's in Bacharach nor St Andrew's in Cologne were prepared to pay the duties. This gave rise to a peculiar conflict that was to make Winand particularly famous.

Winand was convinced that the wine he was transporting was parish wine, that is, church property intended for the clerical service of the Cologne collegiate church, and therefore beyond the reach of secular authorities. The prince-electors' officials argued against this, based on the customs regulations of the four Rhenish prince-electors, according to which the wine could also be *negociacio*, namely merchandise, in addition to being altar wine.⁵² The dispute had been smouldering since 1421/22, i.e., for four years, but Winand now raised it to a level where he sought to resolve it once and for all. He drew up a legal opinion, not only by himself but by enlisting the support of a further sixty-nine experts (that is seventy scholars altogether), mostly professors from the universities of Heidelberg and Cologne as well as from his former university of Würzburg, experts in the issues of canon law and theology at stake in the case. The icing on the cake was that Cardinal Orsini (Fig. 9) and his scholarly companions, including sub-legates like the Englishman Richard Fleming, bishop elect of York, or the Italian bishop Jacobus de Urbino, now also added their expert opinions. Doing so, they gave Winand's work a higher sanction, and ultimately they managed to persuade the prince elector to give way.



Fig. 9: Winand von Steeg, Portrait of Cardinal Giordano Orsini (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 15^v, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 8

⁵¹ See K.-E. Linz, R. Maus, *775 Jahre Bacharacher Zoll. Der Rheinzoll von 1226–1803*, Bacharach 2001.

⁵² Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 80–87.

However, Winand went even further than that. When he was finally allowed to present the *Libellum* to Elector Ludwig and his wife Mechthild of Savoy (today Manuscript 12 of the Bavarian Privy House Archives in Munich), they were treated to a concentrated demonstration of contemporary scholarship. Winand added portraits of the scholars to all 70 expertise reports, aiming at naturalistic portraiture. The elector was personally familiar with most of the scholars anyway, especially the professors at his Heidelberg University, most of whom, like Winand himself, were also court councillors. Now their pictures came before him, united, demanding, admonishing: Of course, this was not just about the parish wine. This was not why the cardinal legate had come to the Rhine, nor why his colleagues had contributed their opinions. Rather, this was about making it unmistakably clear to the elector that anyone who tampered with church property was no better than a Hussite, and therefore a heretic.⁵³ The message was: ‘You of all people, Ludwig, known for piety and strict ecclesiastical behaviour, who sent Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague to the stake in Constance, who participated in the crusades in Bohemia, and subsequently had many a trial conducted against Hussites, do you of all people want to attack church property like a Hussite?’ In other words, Winand and his colleagues skilfully exploited the anti-Hussitism that was already widespread at the Heidelberg court of Ludwig III and at the university.⁵⁴ The whole idea was therefore to ward off the beginnings, and it was ultimately successful, even if there were in fact scholarly controversies which Winand naturally did not include in his booklet. These were put forward by archiepiscopal lawyers from Trier (Bacharach was located in the Trier diocese), the Koblenz official Simon Matthiae von Boppard and his later successor Helwig von Boppard. Both presented considerable deliberations against

⁵³ For an analysis of the intentions (also with theologically frightening content aimed at the pious prince elector) see H. Heimpel, *Die Vener von Gmünd und Straßburg 1162–1447. Studien und Texte zur Geschichte einer Familie sowie des gelehrten Beamtentums in der Zeit der abendländischen Kirchenspaltung und der Konzilien von Pisa, Konstanz und Basel*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 52, Göttingen 1982, I, 414–16.

⁵⁴ See now H. Hawicks, ‘Heidelberg and Hussitism. Professors as Envoys, Experts and Inquisitors’, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis*, 60 (2020), 245–56.

Winand's exemption from customs duties, but they stood no chance against the strong Heidelberg and Cologne circles.⁵⁵

Apart from its content, which demonstrates the impact of scholarly learning and the interpretative power of expertise, the *Libellum* also reveals the excellent and precise functioning of a scholarly network around the nexus of Cologne and Heidelberg. This was not just any network. Nearly everyone who was someone in the academic, ecclesiastical, and courtly world of the Rhine region in the first quarter of the fifteenth century was represented. The map of the RAG shows how this centre of gravity on the Rhine starkly contrasts with the earlier unsettled period of Winand's life (see above Fig. 4). People knew each other personally or from scholarly correspondence, or exchanged and bought codices among themselves, at least to the extent that the acquaintance of an obviously widely esteemed Winand von Steeg could be activated if necessary, even though he had not taught at a university for more than ten years. There were probably influential supporters at both universities; nevertheless, it was a great communicative achievement on Winand's part to bring together such a circle of experts, especially in good time to make his case. The fact that, at the time in question, in 1426, the two universities were involved in a fierce dispute over the different teaching methods of the *via antiqua* (Cologne) and *via moderna* (Heidelberg)⁵⁶ apparently did not affect Winand's plans greatly. The dispute between the arts faculties was probably of no interest to the vast majority of jurists, as can be seen from its later development up to the Heidelberg reform, completed in 1452.⁵⁷

In addition to Cardinal Orsini, Winand's circle of expert friends and acquaintances included such prominent figures as the later Cardinal and Prince-Bishop of Brixen, Nikolaus von Kues, philosopher and humanist, depicted here around 1425 as a young doctor of canon law from Pavia and briefly professor in Cologne (Fig. 10).

⁵⁵ See T. Daniels, 'Der Streit um die Zollfreiheit des Bacharacher Pfarrweins auf dem Rhein. Neue Rechtsgutachten zur Bilderhandschrift Winand von Steegs', *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 150 (2014), 325–56 (with editions). RAG (Simon von Boppard Matthiae), RAG (Helwig von Boppard).

⁵⁶ Heimpel, *Die Vener*, 416–17.

⁵⁷ See G. Ritter, *Die Heidelberger Universität im Mittelalter (1386–1508). Ein Stück deutscher Geschichte*, Heidelberg 1936 (reprint 1986), 384–90.



Fig. 10: Winand von Steeg, Portrait of Dr deocr. Nikolaus von Kues (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 6^v, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 4

Winand had set himself instructions for his paintings by noting in the margins for each person how he wanted to depict them, Nikolaus von Kues, for instance, as *iuvenis magnus secularis*, as a tall youth still in the lay state and in secular scholarly costume.⁵⁸ These, like Winand's book illustrations generally, are genuine illustrations, and so much more than mere decorative elements.⁵⁹

The circle also included the *antiquus pigwis magnus doctor*, the old, pudgy, great doctor of canon law Dietmar Treysa von Fritzlar (Fig. 11), professor at Heidelberg and dean of the Cathedral at Worms, an old acquaintance from Winand's student days at Heidelberg;⁶⁰ or Job Vener (Fig. 12), from a noble family in Schwäbisch Gmünd, doctor of laws from Bologna and professor at Heidelberg, one of the most important councillors and diplomats of the Palatine electors, and

probably most involved in bringing together this illustrious group of experts: *calvus magnus nasum longus grossus* ('bald and tall with a long thick nose');⁶¹ or Johannes de Cervo (vom Hirze), from an old knightly family of Cologne (Fig. 13), doctor of civil law and professor at Cologne and for many years first councillor of the city. Winand notes of him that he is *antiquus validus macer secularis* ('an old very lean layman');⁶² or Johannes Vorburch (Fig. 14), *macer macer doctor secularis LXX annorum*

⁵⁸ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 108, No. 18, 121. RAG (Nikolaus von Kues Cusanus).

⁵⁹ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 57.

⁶⁰ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 108, No. 7, 111–12; see also Willoweit, 'Lizentiaten', 104; RAG (Dietmar Treysa).

⁶¹ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 108, No. 25, 115. RAG (Job Vener). In support of Winand by Vener see Heimpel, *Die Vener*, 417–18.

⁶² Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 108, No. 17, 116. RAG (Johannes de Cervo iunior).



Fig. 11: Winand von Steeg, Portrait of Dietmar Treysa (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 3^v, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 2

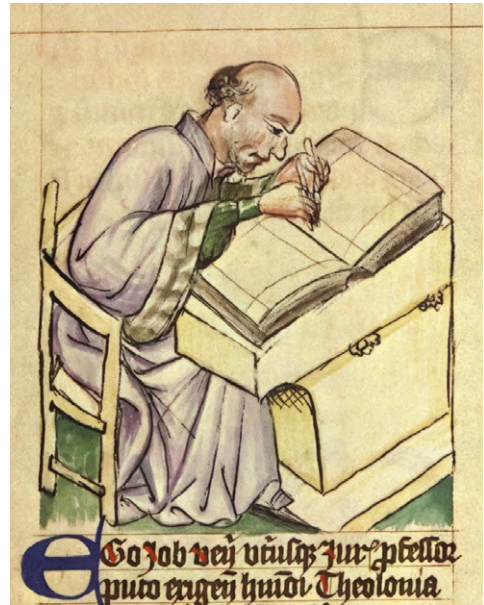


Fig. 12: Winand von Steeg, Portrait of Job Vener (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 8^r, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 5

(‘a very, very lean doctor and layman about seventy years old’), professor of canon law at Cologne, councillor to the archbishop-elect of Cologne and official of the cathedral provost;⁶³ or, to give a final example: Johannes Kusch von Kollenbach (Fig. 15), a *secularis iuuenis sine bireto* (‘a youthful layman without a birette’). He is the only one of the seventy experts sitting with his back to the viewer and not showing his face: Winand allowed himself an either friendly or malign joke here as Kusch is still a nobody in the circle of the other academics, being only a recent graduate (March 1426) of canon law from Heidelberg, and still at the very beginning of his career.⁶⁴

⁶³ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 108, No. 34, 118. RAG (Johannes Vorborg).

⁶⁴ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 108, No. 26, 116–17; Willoweit, ‘Lizentiaten’, 109. RAG (Johannes Kusch).



Fig. 13: Winand von Steeg, Portrait of Johannes de Cervo (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 6^v, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 4



Fig. 14: Winand von Steeg, Portrait of Johannes Vorburch (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 10^r, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 6

In conclusion, I hope that I have been able to present one of the most interesting scholarly personalities of the late medieval Rhineland and to convey something of his work: a well-educated, extraordinarily active and resourceful jurist, pulpit orator, speculative theologian and Hebraist, moving skilfully amongst patrons and colleagues and, last but not least, a versatile artist and early naturalist portraitist.⁶⁵ In his manuscripts, he emphasized the connection between text and

⁶⁵ On further images of scholars see R. Haas, 'Acht Professorenbilder aus dem Jahr 1426', *Ruperto-Carola. Heidelberger Universitätshefte*, 20.43/44 (1968), 36–42. On a more recent use and discussion of some images see E. Bünz, 'Ein Leipziger Professor tritt ans Licht. Das unbekannte Porträt des Juristen Albert Varrentrapp von 1426', *Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte*, 80 (2009), 241–48; RAG (Albert Varrentrapp); R. C. Schwinges, 'Soziale Netzwerke', 63–66, on Dr. decr. Johannes

image and eventually the importance of images for scholarly work. In the 1440s, Winand withdrew from the increasingly arduous management of the large parish of St Peter in Bacharach to the Castorstift in Koblenz, continued working on his books and died at a ripe old age of eighty-two, either on 19 January or 9 July 1453 in Koblenz.⁶⁶ This extraordinary man is but one of almost 70,000 medieval scholars with fascinating biographies in the RAG/REPAC research project.



Fig. 15: Winand von Steeg, Portrait of Johannes Kusch (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 8^r, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 5

Raboden von der Kemenaden; RAG (Johannes Raboden Caminata); R. C. Schwin- ges, 'Gelehrte von Heidelberg und anderswo. Einblicke in die Datenbank des Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG)', in *Universitätsmatrikeln im deutschen Südwesten. Bestände, Erschließung und digitale Präsentation. Beiträge zur Tagung im Universitätsarchiv Heidelberg am 16. und 17. Mai 2019*, ed. by H. Hawicks, I. Runde, Heidelberg Schriften zur Universitätsgeschichte, 9, Heidelberg 2020, on Prof. theol. Wilhelm Eppenbach, 275–77, 293; RAG (Wilhelm Eppenbach). The first four volumes of the series *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG) – Forschungen* offer Winand's portraits as covers: Portraits of Dr. decr. Lambertus ten Langenhove von Rees (Vol. 1), of Dr. theol. Henricus Gorinchem (Vol. 2), of Dr. iur. can. Winand von Steeg (Vol. 3) and of Dr. decr. Dytmarus Treisa von Fritzlar (Vol. 4), all online (open access) on www.rag-online.org.

⁶⁶ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 30; Bünz, 'Winand' (Verfasserlexikon), 1183.

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